

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 103436

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS HOLD FOR SECRETARY

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 1568 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN,
CAPE TOWN, LONDON, OTTAWA, PARIS, AND PRETORIA DATED
APRIL 21, 1978.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 01568

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: CONTACT GROUP DISCUSSION OF APRIL 20

REF: A) SECTO 4095 (NOTAL), B) USUN 1487 (NOTAL).

1. CONTACT GROUP DISCUSSED AT LENGTH APRIL 20 THE
QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL AND THE RELATIONSHIP IF ANY,
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BETWEEN A STATEMENT BY THE FIVE ON WITHDRAWAL AND A
POSSIBLE FIVE-POWER STATEMENT ON WALVIS BAY. THE
REPORT OF THAT DISCUSSION BELOW REPRESENTS THE INITIAL
THINKING OF THE GROUP RATHER THAN THE DEFINITIVE VIEWS
OF ANY OF ITS MEMBERS; USUN IN PARTICULAR NOTED THAT
WE HAD NOT ARRIVED AT OUR FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS ON
THIS MATTER.

2. THE OVERALL VIEW OF THE CONTACT GROUP (INCLUDING THE BRITISH) WAS THAT THE PROPOSAL AS IT STANDS IS EXCELLENT AND THAT NO SUBSTANTIVE VARIATIONS SHOULD BE MADE TO IT. THE FIVE SHOULD ASSERT THAT THE PROPOSAL IS REASONABLE, FAIR, AND THE BEST POSSIBLE SOLUTION; NO EXPANSIVE PUBLIC STATEMENTS SHOULD BE MADE AT THIS TIME. THERE IS A FEELING WITHIN THE GROUP THAT AT SOME POINT, PREFERABLY NOT IN ADVANCE OF THE REACTIONS OF SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA, SOME FORM OF CONCESSIONS MAY HAVE TO BE MADE ON THE ISSUES OF WITHDRAWAL AND WALVIS BAY.

3. RECOGNIZING THE POSSIBLE APPROPRIATENESS OF SUCH CONCESSIONS AT A LATER DATE, THE GROUP CONSIDERED THE PROPOSED BRITISH LANGUAGE (REF A) FOR A STATEMENT ON WITHDRAWAL. THE GROUP RECOGNIZES THAT BY THIS LANGUAGE THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WOULD BE GIVEN BINDING DECISION MAKING POWER WITH REGARD TO WITHDRAWAL AS WELL AS ANY OTHER MATTERS IT WISHES TO CONSIDER. (THE BRITISH CONFIRMED THAT THIS IS PRECISELY LONDON'S INTENT.) THE GROUP, THEREFORE, BELIEVES THAT MAKING SUCH A STATEMENT IS TANTAMOUNT TO REOPENING THE NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE THAT SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD REPRESENT. THE CONTENT OF SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED WITH AND AGREED

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TO BY ALL PARTIES, AND THAT AGREEMENT INCLUDED IN THE PROPOSAL. ALTERNATIVELY IT MUST BE CLEARLY STATED IN PRESENTING THE PROPOSALS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAT SUCH A CHANGE WOULD BE INCORPORATED IN SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVAL OF THE PROPOSAL. OTHERWISE, ANY EFFORT BY SOUTH AFRICA TO RETAIN A TROOP PRESENCE, EVEN AT THE REQUEST OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, WOULD BE SEEN AS A VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENT. THE CONTACT GROUP (AGAIN INCLUDING THE BRITISH) DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT A REOPENING OF THE PROPOSAL WILL PRODUCE ANYTHING BUT TROUBLE FOR THE FIVE'S EFFORT.

4. THE GROUP TENDED TO FEEL TODAY THAT, IF CONCESSIONS DO PROVE NECESSARY, A BALANCED APPROACH TO THE CONCERNS OF SWAPO AND THOSE OF SOUTH AFRICA MIGHT BE FOR THE FIVE TO STATE PUBLICLY (PERHAPS IN THE CONTEXT OF A SECURITY COUNCIL SPEECH):

(A) THAT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, FOLLOWING CERTIFICATION OF THE ELECTIONS, WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS ITS VIEWS ON MATTERS AFFECTING THE TERRITORY AND THAT THE FIVE WOULD TAKE SUCH VIEWS CAREFULLY INTO

ACCOUNT AND WOULD EXPECT OTHERS TO DO THE SAME. (THIS APPROACH IS SAME AS THAT SUGGESTED IN REF B AS A REPLACEMENT FOR THE LANGUAGE SUGGESTED BY THE UK. ALL OF THE CONTACT FROUP MEMBERS AGREE THAT THE REVISED LANGUAGE IS PREFERABLE, ALTHOUGH IT NEEDS CAREFUL STUDY.)

(B) THAT THE FUTURE OF WALVIS BAY MUST BE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA, THAT THOSE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BEGIN IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING INDEPENDENCE, AND THAT THE FIVE BELIEVE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD RESULT IN THE INCLUSION OF WALVIS BAY IN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. (ON WALVIS BAY THIS IS THE POSITION WHICH THE UNITED

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STATES HAS ALREADY MADE KNOWN ITS WILLINGNESS TO STATE PUBLICLY.)

IN THIS WAY ROUGHLY THE SAME APPROACH WOULD BE TAKEN WITH BOTH PROBLEMS. THE FIVE WOULD PROVIDE THEIR ASSURANCE OF POLITICAL SUPPORT IN BOTH CASES.

5. EVEN WITH THIS APPROACH, THERE IS NO ASSURANCE SUCH A PUBLIC STATEMENT ON WITHDRAWAL WILL SATISFY THE SOUTH AFRICANS OR THAT SUCH A PUBLIC STATEMENT ON WALVIS BAY WILL SATISFY SWAPO. ON THE CONTRARY WE MAY SUCCEED IN IRRITATING BOTH PARTIES AND IN INCREASING ALREADY SERIOUS SUSPICIONS. IT IS FOR THIS REASON ESPECIALLY THAT THE GROUP'S VIEW TODAY WAS THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE UNTIL WE HEAR THE REACTIONS OF THE PARTIES -- AT WHICH TIME WE MAY BE ABLE TO JUDGE MORE CLEARLY THE IMPACT OF ANY CONCESSIONS.

6. COMMENT. CONTACT GROUP BELIEVES IT ESSENTIAL THAT EFFORTS BE MADE TO DISSPELL ANY NOTION THAT THE PROPOSALS ARE STILL OPEN TO FURTHER NEGOTIATION, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF OPENING OF SPECIAL SESSION. ANY BELIEF ON THE PART OF SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA TO THE CONTRARY WILL ONLY POSTPONE DEFINITIVE RESPONSES TO OUR PROPOSAL. END COMMENT.

7. RECIPIENTS OF THIS MESSAGE ARE CAUTIONED NOT TO CHARACTERIZE THE VIEWS OF UKUN, WHO, THOUGH GOOD SOLDIERS, OBVIOUSLY HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT TACTICS SUGGESTED BY OWEN AND FCO.

YOUNG UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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